

The Classical Bulletin

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MAY, 1931

No. 8

A Princess in Greece

In that poignantly beautiful drama of Paul Claudel, *The Tidings Brought to Mary*, Jacques Hury cries out to his betrothed: "How beautiful you are, Violaine! And how beautiful is the world of which you are a portion reserved for me!" So we, too, exclaim, with the substitution of a name, when, looking back through the arches of almost thirty centuries, we pause in our reading of the fairy-tale that Homer has spun around the figure of "wily" Odysseus, and reflect upon the character of Nausicaa.

ἀθανάτῃσι φῦν καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη,
Ναυσικάα, Θυγάτηρ μεγάλῃτορος Ἀλκινόοιο.

Here indeed, we say, is a maiden apart.

She is as fresh as the sea air that blows about her, (even her name is of the sea), as blooming as her father's great garden in the springtime, this Peter Pan of long ago. Upon her Homer has lavished all the subtle simplicity that is his greatest art; he must have loved her even as we do. May we not conjecture with some likelihood of truth that in Nausicaa we have an idealization of some maiden very dear to the poet, possibly of a devoted daughter?

To whom shall we liken this child of predilection? She has the modesty of Viola, the delicacy of a pure heart experiencing the advent of love. She would wash the wedding garments that are to be presents for the guests. But to her father she mentions only "fresh raiment" for him to wear "with the princes in council," and for her three brothers, who were still "lusty bachelors" and "always eager for new-washed garments wherein to go to the dances!" We smile at this little *genre* scene, at this bashfulness born of maidenly modesty, not of diplomacy. "This she said, because she was ashamed to speak of glad marriage to her father; but he saw all." She reminds us here also of Miranda; but from Miranda, because of her sheltered life, we look for nothing but modesty and simplicity, with every right to expect it. Nausicaa, on the other hand, lived among men; she was a princess and knew it, and we might even forgive a bit of superiority and boldness in her bearing. But there is none. If, despite her station, Nausicaa remained modest and simple, this is so much the more to her credit. Both girls are like flowers. But Miranda is a hot-house flower, out of her element, somewhat artificial, for all her charms. The attractiveness of Nausicaa is in her native, unspoiled beauty, and inasmuch as she is a native growth of the native soil, she is the sturdier and the more pleasing of the two.

We of the twentieth century may be inclined to smile at a simplicity that leads a princess to drive her laundry to the river in a mule-cart and there to share in the labor of its cleansing. Our smile is a natural one, when we see her, in the midst of a game of ball, miss her aim and send the ball into the river's swift current, and when we hear the shrill, distressing cries of the maidens.

But her simplicity soon gives way to prudence and dignity. Odysseus appears before the maidens, befouled and naked, and the maidens scream once more, this time with more cause. In fact, they flee—all but the daughter of high-hearted Alcinoüs. She alone stands firm, as befits the daughter of the shepherd of the people. The poet says: "Athene gave her courage of heart, and took all trembling from her limbs." That is a poetic way of saying that Nausicaa possessed a fund of common sense,—for Athene is the goddess of Wisdom—and a consciousness of what it befitted her rank and position to do under the circumstances. "I am the daughter of Alcinoüs, great of heart, on whom all the might and force of the Phaeacians depend." And just at that moment the princess saw that here was a man dependent on her. She rose to the occasion. She called back the maidens and gave the stranger clothing and ointment.

In the beauty and splendor shed over him by Athene, Odysseus returns and sits apart. And the princess? Like Rosalind, when she first saw Orlando, so Nausicaa at the sight of Odysseus is smitten at heart. Like Rosalind to Celia, so Nausicaa to her maidens, confesses her love for the stranger. "Would that such an one might be called my husband, dwelling here, and that it might please him here to abide!" But now come common sense and propriety once more, and in her next breath she gives a most prosaic command: "But come, my maidens, give the stranger meat and drink."

When she is ready to depart for home, her words to Odysseus are merely of direction to the palace and of the necessity of their arriving there separately to protect her reputation; for there were "but too many insolent folk among the people." Insolent people would talk about the princess among themselves, and even she herself would blame the maiden who would converse with men before the day of wedlock.

Nausicaa goes home, and we hear of her but once again. She realizes that the love of Odysseus is not for her; that she must live her life in her little island with one of her own countrymen, thus keeping up the traditional aloofness of her people.

"And Nausicaa, dowered with beauty by the gods, stood by the pillar of the well-built roof, and marvelled at Odysseus, be-

holding him before her eyes, and she uttered her voice and spake to him winged words:

"Farewell, stranger, and even in thine own country bethink thee of me upon a time, for that to me first thou owest the ransom of life."

"And Odysseus of many counsels answered her saying: 'Nausicaa, daughter of great-hearted Alcinoüs, yea, may Zeus, the thunderer, the lord of Hera, grant me to reach my home and see the day of my returning; so would I, even there, do thee worship as to a god, all my days forever more, for thou, lady, hast given me my life.'"

And so we leave Nausicaa, 'all our days forever more,' standing by the high pillar of her father's house, with quiet and resignation in her heart, knowing that she will be happy in the little corner of fairyland where she is princess. We leave her with the quiet that must characterize the best that comes out of Greece. Just here it would be that Goethe must have failed, had he ever written his proposed tragedy, *Nausicaa*, as he had outlined it. Nausicaa was to commit suicide after the departure of Odysseus! We are thankful he never realized anything beyond his outline; thankful, too, that out of the confusion of the ages, Homer's picture of her is all that remains. For the story of the daughter of Alcinoüs is not a tragedy; it is a happy interlude to be remembered beyond a play that has itself a happy ending.

Nausicaa stands unique among the women of literature. Modern literature has not given us her equal. Nor is she like other great women of Greek literature. Antigone is great, but distant. Electra is great, but hardened by a tragedy. Helen is great, lovable in her repentance, but overshadowed by the things that have been. Andromache is great, but we see her only in her tears. Nausicaa is many of them; she is not any of them. She is only Nausicaa, unique, because she was the special love of the greatest of poets, conceived and created in the days when the earth was fresh and young and revelling in the pure joy of untainted infancy.

Florissant, Mo.

GILBERT C. PETERSON, S. J.

Inter-Scholastic Latin Contest

The annual Latin contest between the senior students of the high schools of the Missouri and Chicago provinces of the Society of Jesus was held on January 30. On March 3 the following winners were announced.

1. James R. Yore, Loyola Academy, Chicago.
2. Robert G. North, Creighton University High School, Omaha.
3. Leonard J. Doyle, Marquette University High School, Milwaukee.
4. Leo Baslooper, University of Detroit High School.
5. John V. Moran, University of Detroit High School.
6. Robert Huber, St. Louis University High School.
7. Henry Mohrman, St. Louis University High School.
8. William K. Traynor, Loyola Academy, Chicago.
9. John Rebuck, Creighton University High School, Omaha.
10. Russell G. Olson, St. Ignatius High School, Chicago.

Book Review

The Confessions of St. Augustine. Book I-X (Selections). With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by James Marshall Campbell, Ph. D., and Martin R. P. McGuire, Ph. D. Prentice-Hall Inc. New York. 1931. \$2.50.

As the *Confessions* of St. Augustine is one of the most intimately human documents of Latin literature, we rejoice to see the most interesting of its narrative portions rendered accessible in a regular school edition. The selections are generous enough to last a normal semester. The brief notes clear up points of philosophical, religious, historical, and biblical interest. The vocabulary will be a welcome bait to the student. The introduction of sixty pages is practically exhaustive, containing all the student needs in the way of background or syntactical summary. The chapter on Augustine's use of the prepositions deserves special mention. Above all, due prominence is given to questions of style. If all ancient composition was steeped in rhetoric, this is doubly true of the period of decadence in which Augustine flourished, so that, in order to know Augustine, we have to know Augustine's rhetorical finery.

It may be doubted whether the authors have given full measure to Augustine's use of the tenses. The statement that the pluperfect is "occasionally employed for the imperfect or perfect" (*Introd.* No. 78, a) is, in this form, open to misunderstanding. At all events, the three pluperfects singled out by the authors as illustrations of the statement, admit of a different interpretation (See the Note on p. 59 of this BULLETIN).

Since style implies attention to sentence structure, the authors might have allowed themselves ampler scope in dealing with this aspect of ancient "rhythm." The fiery African and quondam teacher of rhetoric, who deprecated the excesses of Sophistic and yet tingled with rhetoric down to his finger tips, was likely to vent his ardor not only in rhetorical phrases and devices, but in the rhetorical structure of whole sentences. The authors give a hint of this in saying that his structure exhibits "an informality, an arbitrariness almost," which contrasts with the rhetoric of the day, but they do not illustrate this peculiarity. There is no lack of specimens in Augustine, for few Latin writers lend themselves more readily to colometrization than he does. His illustrious contemporary, St. Jerome, tells us that in his day the teachers of Latin and Greek wrote Cicero and Demosthenes *per cola et commata* and that that was reason enough for him to write his new version of the Bible in the same colometric way. As for Augustine, his fondness for antithetical parallelism is a characteristic feature of his style.

The make-up of the *Confessions* is excellent, but the omission from the top of the pages of all references to book, chapter, and section, is a source of annoyance to anyone in a hurry to locate a passage. The following quotation from the authors' note on the title of this soul-revealing autobiography is singularly interesting: "The word *confessio*, . . . connotes praise of God as well as

accusation of self. . . . The entire first chapter . . . is a prayer. It is thus a foretaste of a work that in its totality is a prayer, a *confessio*, a prayer of praise and thanksgiving rising from a profound and subtle mind and a temperament superlatively artistic."

St. Louis, Mo.

JAMES A. KLEIST, S. J.

A Note on Three Pluperfects in St. Augustine's *Confessions*

The statement is often made by grammarians that the Latin pluperfect was not infrequently employed for the imperfect or perfect. Hofmann, for instance, in his edition of Schmalz's *Lateinische Grammatik*, p. 562, says that the frequent reference of the pluperfect to another past action, not mentioned in the text, but only inferred from the context (as, *ut antea dixeram*), had led to its being treated as a simple preterite. Wackernagel, in *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I, p. 190, is equally summary and sweeping: *Das Plusquamperfektum wächst sich zu einem einfachen Tempus der Vergangenheit aus*. Sommer, on the other hand, in *Vergleichende Syntax*, p. 68, is much more guarded and discriminating. He points out that the past action to which reference is made in the pluperfect is generally expressed (*erwähnt*), though frequently to be supplied in thought (*hinzuzudenken*); again, that, when the action is expressed, it may be mentioned in the clause that precedes or in the clause that follows. He adds, of course, as all grammarians do, that in late Latin there was a considerable extension (*eine starke Ausdehnung*) of this use of the pluperfect for the simple preterite.

It is open to question to what extent, or within what limits, statements of this kind really represent the Latin mind. Did Latin writers, in using the pluperfect, feel, or did they not, that the pluperfect had a function different from that of the imperfect or perfect? It may, of course, be admitted that a form like *oderam*, of which there was no present or imperfect tense, was for all practical purposes an imperfect. But the farther we get away from this type of expression, the less certain we are of the equation "pluperfect = imperfect." It is hard to believe that *noveram*, for instance, was in every respect felt to be equivalent to, say, *sciebam*, quite apart from the different connotations implied in the roots. Much less would the equation be true in the case of verbs of which the imperfect occurs quite freely along with the pluperfect, as in *amabam* and *amaveram*. A further consideration that suggests caution in dealing with the pluperfect is this, that, as the Latin perfect had taken over the functions of the Greek aorist (see, for instance, Hofmann, *l. c.*, p. 560, 561), so the pluperfect could represent an aorist, when the action in question was prior to another past action. It would then be *ein Plusquam-aorist, wie man sich etwa ausgedrückt hat* (Wackernagel, *l. c.*). Moreover, once it is granted that the Latin perfect could act as an aorist, it is not apparent why this function should have been restricted to the constative or complexive aorist, and not have included the ingressive aorist as well. Thus such forms as *veritus* or

ratus, which are not very neatly rendered *fearing* or *believing*, are at bottom ingressive aorists, representing a Greek *φοβηθεῖς* or *ἠγησάμενος*. A clear case of a Latin perfect functioning as an ingressive aorist is *vectus*, in Vergil, *Georg.* I, 206, in the sense of "having embarked," not "having made a voyage."

In this connection, three pluperfects in St. Augustine's *Confessions* seem to call for special mention. In I, 13, 20, Augustine says *graecas litteras oderam*. The boy (*puerulus*) Augustine hated Greek. The man Augustine finds this hatred unaccountable, in view of the fact that, when he learned Latin *aliquando infans inter blandimenta nutricum*, he "had taken a passionate fancy to it" (*adamaveram enim latinas*). The form *adamaveram* was, no doubt, suggested by the preceding *oderam*, but although *oderam* is practically an imperfect, one may refuse to believe that *adamaveram* was no more than an imperfect, especially when we remember that *ad-amō* has generally an ingressive force: *lieb gewinnen* (Georges).

In IV, 7, 12, Augustine says that, as the Manichean concept of God was like an immense void that offered no footing to one in need of consolation, he had, by his adherence to that sect, become to himself "a wretched plight," *mihi remanseram infelix locus*, "a miserable predicament," in which there was no stay for him and out of which there was no escape. *Infelix* often borders on our *accursed* or, again, on *unproductive* and *barren*. At all events, there was *nothing profitable* in that situation, and the pluperfect means that his terrible plight was all that *had been left to Augustine* as an inheritance from the time of his Manichean faith.

In VIII, 7, 18, *remanserat*, used no doubt by assimilation to the preceding *consumpta erant*, paves the way for the historical present *invado*. There is an exact analogon to this construction in Vergil, *Aeneid* vi, 524, where *subduzerat* is said with relation to the following *vocat*, also an historical present (see Norden, *Aen.* VI, *l. c.*). So here: "When a state of mute fear or silent trembling had resulted" from the conflict raging in Augustine's soul, *remanserat muta trepidatio*, "then," *tum, in illa grandi rixa*, "I made a rush upon Alypius," *invado Alypium*.

K.

What language of earth or trumpet of heaven could decipher the woe of that unfathomable call, when from the depth of the ancient woods a voice, that *drew like gravitation*, that sucked in like a vortex, far off, yet near—in some distant world, yet close at hand—cried, "Hark Oedipus! King Oedipus! come hither; thou art wanted!" *Wanted!* for what? Was it for death? was it for judgment? was it for some wilderness of pariah eternities? No man ever knew. Chasms opened in the earth; dark gigantic arms stretched out to receive the king; clouds and vapor settled over the penal abyss; and of him only, though the neighborhood of his disappearance was known, no trace or visible record survived—neither bones, nor grave, nor dust, nor epitaph.—*De Quincey*

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Vol. VII

MAY, 1931

No. 8

Editorial

Evidence of a reawakening of interest in classical studies in Spain comes to us through the announcement of a projected series of Greek and Latin authors, with introductions, parallel translations, and notes, to be published by the *Editorial Voluntad*, Madrid. The series is to be known as *Biblioteca de Clásicos Griegos y Latinos*, and will be under the general direction of Professors Luis Segalá y Estalella, of the University of Barcelona and Ignacio Errandonea, S. J., of the College of Loyola. Fr. Errandonea, who spent two years of research on Sophocles at Oxford, will edit the plays of this author. One volume of Sophocles has, indeed, already appeared, and two others are at present in press. Many other Spanish-American classicists are to co-operate in editing the series.

Fr. Errandonea's first volume is entitled *Sófocles, Tragedias: Tomo I, Edipo Rey y Edipo en Colono* (Madrid, 1930, 8 pesetas unbound). It contains a good general introduction, which discusses, under three heads, I, Sophocles, II, The Structure of Greek Tragedy and the Chorus, and III, Editions and Manuscripts. Besides this general introduction, there are brief special introductions, giving the necessary information for an understanding of the background and plot of each play. The text and translation are printed on opposite pages, as in the Loeb Series, in large, clear type. Under the Greek text is to be found the *apparatus criticus*, giving variant readings, among them those of three Spanish codices, and under the Spanish translation are placed

the explanatory notes, which are somewhat fuller than those in most of the volumes of the Loeb Series. The translation itself is in clear, straight-forward prose, and little attempt is made to bring out the poetic qualities or the subtleties of Sophoclean diction. We hope that both Spain and Spanish America will show due appreciation of this laudable and promising undertaking, and lend it substantial support.

One wonders whether even the *Duce's* energetic regime will exhaust the archaeological secrets of Rome. It would seem not; nor are we sorry, for half the glamor of it all lies in the fact that Rome is even yet a "buried city." There is still the wonder of possible discovery, enhanced, too, by some remarkable surprises. Just outside the *Porta Maggiore*, for example, there is the Neo-Pythagorean temple whose roof obligingly caved in a bit in 1916 and discovered itself to the world. Not less wonderful is the story told about the excavations of *San Sebastiano*, where, just as they were abandoning the whole project, an assistant decided to probe about a little, and finding a hollow spot, explored and came upon some tombs, a Roman house, and other objects of interest. Among the very recent discoveries is another house, in *opus reticulatum*, and a tiny Roman road, evidently a serious miniature of the nearby Appian, but looking for all the world like a path to a doll-house.

Meantime in Rome itself work of a somewhat more prosaic character continues. The market-place of Trajan is completely excavated and is now receiving the archaeologists' finishing touches. The interesting and memory-provoking *Mausoleo d'Augusto* has yielded its treasures of urns and inscriptions. Some buildings in the *Forum Holitorium* have been removed, revealing a few Ionic columns belonging to one of the three temples about which there is so much dispute. In general, the ruins are being made more inviting by judicious care and little touches of landscaping. Thus there is the delightful park embracing the temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, (better, *Mater Matuta*), and the little circular temple, once known as *Santa Maria del Sole*. Then, in the *Forum Argentinum*, there are the pines and cypresses which, while lending variety to the scene, harmonize so well with the character of this "mystery forum." Excavations there have recently led to the discovery of a temple on a lower level than the rest. There is not much of it, of course, but it is very ancient, older, surely, than the others. And that is saying a great deal, for the others, though unidentified, certainly date from the time of the republic.

But meanwhile, the one grand project begun last year, the *Circus Maximus*, is at a standstill. Some say that the results were discouraging and that it has been abandoned. But it seems much more likely that the plan of the excavators is first to finish the minor projects now under way, and then, with the coming spring, to attack the *Circus Maximus* in true Roman style.

Bright is the ring of words, when the right man rings them.—R. L. Stevenson.

Papyrus as Writing Material, III

(Continued from the April Number)

From references of ancient writers to the papyrus rolls that were in the hands of the cultured public at their time, it may be inferred that the roll-makers and scribes in the classical periods of Greek and Roman letters used to ornament their products with a degree of artistry that made them at once objects of beauty to their owners and objects of value to prospective purchasers.

The roll was wound up on a cylinder (ὀμφαλός, *umbilicus*, *bacillus*). Whether or how this cylinder was attached to the inner end of the roll, is a matter of conjecture. Since no cylinders of this kind have yet been found, nor any traces discovered on the ends of the rolls to show that they had been attached, it is believed that the cylinder was left loose, and was merely a kind of core round which the roll was wound. Some of the papyri found at Herculaneum have a loose central core of papyrus, but there is no doubt that, at least in the roll-makers' more elegant productions, the cylinder was beautifully ornamented and sometimes made of precious metal. *Ad umbilicum adducere*¹ or *pervenire* means to finish the composition of a book. Thus Martial² concludes the fourth book of his epigrams with the words,

Ohe iam satis est, ohe libelle,
iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos.

A knob, which like the cylinder was termed *umbilicus*, or a simple tip of ivory or some other ornamental material (κέρας, *cornu*), was attached to each end of the cylinder. Thus Porphyryon, commenting on Horace, *Epode* xiv, 8, says: *In fine libri* (i. e. papyrus roll) *umbilici ex ligno aut osse solent poni*. And Martial, addressing the book of epigrams he is just beginning, writes,³

Et frontis gemino decens honore,
pictis luxuriis umbilicis.

Statius refers to them when he writes,⁴

Binis decoratus umbilicis,

and Ovid says,⁵

Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.

The *frontes* or edges of the roll were cut down and smoothed with pumice. Sometimes they were colored. Thus Tibullus writes,⁶

Atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes.

Just as we have cases for fine books, the ancients protected their papyrus rolls with a wrapper, the value and material of which corresponded with the value and decorative character of the roll enclosed. The wrapper used for ordinary rolls was of common papyrus (*charta emporetica*).⁷ Valuable works were enclosed in a vellum wrapper (διφθέρα, *toga*; φαλόνης or φαινόλης, *paenula*). It is of interest to know that φαλόνης, used by St. Paul (II. Tim. iv, 13), need not mean *cloak*, but because of its association with μεμβράνας and βιβλία in the same passage, may mean *book-wrapper*.⁸

The wrapper, like the end of the roll and the tips on the cylinder, was sometimes colored, as the following quotation shows.

Sed pumicata fronte si quis est nondum
nec umbilicis cultus atque *membrana*,
mercari: tales habeo. Nec sciet quisquam.⁹

Rolls were sometimes bound with thongs to prevent them from unwinding:

. . . chartae regiae, novi libri,
novi umbilici, *lora rubra*, membranae,
directa plumbo, et pumice omnia aequata.¹⁰

When a roll was sent anywhere, it was sometimes bound with tape, the knot of which was sealed with wax. This is the allusion in Horace's *signata volumina*.¹¹

Rolls displayed for sale were covered with a vellum wrapper, which had been smoothed with pumice stone, as appears from the following quotation.

Vertumnus Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti claves et grata sigilla pudico;
paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus.¹²

Cedar oil was rubbed on the papyrus as a protection against moths. Cp. the following quotations:

. . . speramus carmina fingi
posse linenda cedro, et levi servanda cupresso.¹³

. . . cedro digna locutus.¹⁴

But the use of cedar oil had its drawbacks, as Ovid testifies:

quod neque sum cedro flavus.¹⁵

As a further protection to rolls, when they were carried about, they were placed in a wooden case. Martial's distich is interesting in this connection:

Manuale

Ne toga barbatus faciat vel paenula libros,
haec abies chartis tempora longa dabit.¹⁶

Apart from this special case for rolls, they were protected by being placed in a box or chest (κιβωτός, *scrinium*, *capsa*; κίστη, *cista*; τεύχος, *arca*, *loculus*). The *scrinium* was a larger *capsa*. The following texts illustrate this practice.

. . . ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
Compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.¹⁷

Nam si luxerit, ad librarium
curram scrinia, Caesios, Aquinos,
Suffenum, omnia colligam venena,
ac te his suppliciis remunerabor.¹⁸

Papyrus was damaged by tying the rolls together,¹⁹ but there are many representations showing the rolls tied up in a bundle. In ancient paintings the rolls are drawn as stacked horizontally in rows in the *armarium*.²⁰ A ninth century manuscript of St. Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* illustrates the *capsa*, which it terms *bibliotheca*, as a round-bottomed, two-handled basket.²¹

When rolls were arranged in their *capsae* on the shelves, the searcher's main reliance for quickly iden-

tifying a volume was the label that bore the title of the work (*titulus, index*). The titles were usually made of vellum and attached to the edge of the roll, so that they hung down from the shelf on which the roll was laid. The different colors of the titles were another way of identifying the rolls. Ovid mentions titles of vermillion:

Nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur.²²

Pliny has the following note: *Minium in voluminum quoque scriptura usurpatur clarioresque litteras vel in muro vel in marmore, etiam in sepulchris, facit.*²³ Red seems to have been a favorite color for titles. Besides the passages already quoted, it is mentioned by Martial:²⁴

Cocco rubeat superbus index.

Until recent years no book titles were known, but the excavations at Oxyrynchus have yielded a few specimens.

When perusing a roll, the reader held it upright before him and gradually unrolled the papyrus with his right hand as he read on, while rolling up with his left in the opposite direction the portion he had read. The technical terms are: 1) *to unroll*: ἀνελκείν, ἐξελκείν, ἀνελίσσειν, ἀνατρίσσειν, *evolvere revolvere, explicare*. 2) *To roll up*: εὔλειν, ἐλίσσειν, *volvere*.²⁵ 3) *Explicite usque ad sua cornua liber is a book read to the end.*²⁶ 4) *To finish writing a roll: ad umbilicum adducere, ad umbilicum pervenire.*²⁷

After the roll had been read, it was necessary to unwind it from the left to the right cylinder before putting it away, so that it would open at the beginning when it was again used. One could do this by holding the reversely wound roll under his chin to steady it, and using both hands to rewind it on the right cylinder. Martial describes this procedure thus:

Secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas
quas novit unus scrinioque signatas
custodit ipse virginia pater chartae,
quae trita duro non inhorruit mento.²⁸

Ut rosa delectat, metitur quae pollice primo,
sic nova nec mento sordida charta iuvat.²⁹

Rolls intended for the book market were inscribed on the inner side only, for only this side was smoothed to receive writing. But convenience and economy had to be reckoned with, and rough copies, authors' copies, temporary pieces, and pupils' exercises were often written on both sides of the papyrus. A sheet inscribed also on the reverse side was termed ἀποδόγραφος, and the process of writing in this way was termed *scribere in tergo, in charta aversa scribere*. Juvenal, writing of an author's copy, says,

... impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo needum finitus Orestes!³⁰

The younger Pliny says of his uncle's works:³¹ *Commentarios clx mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos*. Martial compares worthless verses with opisthograph writing:³²

Scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta,
et dolet averso quod facit illa deo.

Admonishing his book to take pains to please the learned Apollinaris, if it would escape the fate of waste paper, he says:³³

Si damnaverit, ad salariorum
curras serinia protinus licebit,
inversa pueris arande charta.

The British Museum contains two specimens of opisthography that are of particular interest. The one is part of a funeral oration by Hyperides, written on the *verso* of a second century papyrus, on the *recto* of which the horoscope of a person born in A. D. 95 is inscribed. It was at first assumed that the oration is the original writing; but when the rule for determining the true *recto* of papyrus rolls was discovered, and the rough hand together with the faulty orthography were given due consideration, it became clear that the horoscope is the original writing, and that the literary text was later written on the back of the roll.³⁴

In 1890 the British Museum acquired a papyrus which contained Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. The *recto* of this papyrus contains the accounts of a farm bailiff in the district of Hermopolis, which were rendered during the reign of Vespasian, A. D. 78-79. The character of the writing on the *verso* made it at once apparent that this work was not produced for the market, for the text of Aristotle is written by four hands, apparently in haste, only one of which can be called a "book hand." The bailiff's writing on the *recto* is quite legible, while that of the pupils who transcribed Aristotle is, with the exception of the second hand, rough and inelegant. But since the same form of letters is employed on either side, the inference is justified that the philosopher's text was written not more than ten years after the bailiff's accounts were drawn up, since a decade would hardly be exceeded in preserving farm accounts. This would give us about A. D. 90³⁵ as the year when the Aristotle text was written.

With the universal use of the book form from the fourth century on, the roll was doomed, as far as literary documents were concerned. It continued in use, however, during the Middle Ages for mortuary rolls, pedigrees, and such chronicles as give prominence to genealogies. Henceforth the writing was inscribed in columns parallel with the length, and no longer with the height, of the roll as in ancient times. In England the roll was used for public documents until modern times.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Horace, *Epodes*, xiv, 8.
2. iv, 89.
3. III, ii, 8: *Spruce with the twin deckings of your brow, you wax insolent with painted bosses.* (Tr. by W. C. A. Ker, in the Loeb Library.) Further references to the *cornua* in Martial are: V, vi, 15; I, lxvi, ii; VIII, 61; XI, 107.
4. *Silv.* IV, ix, 8.
5. *Tristia* I, i, 8: *Do not wear whitened extremities with a blackened page.* (Tr. by Kirby, London, 1890.)
6. III, i, 13. Cfr. also Ovid, *Tristia*, I, i, 11; Catullus, i, 2 and xxii, 8; Martial, VIII, lxxii, 1 f.

7. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xiii, 12.
8. So Birt, in *Das Antike Buchwesen* (1882), 65. But Bauer renders "Mantel," and Zorell says: "Falso igitur Syrus interpretatus est thecam librorum."
9. Martial, I, lxvi, 10-12: *But if there be one (book) with ends not yet smoothed with pumice, and not yet smart with its bosses and wrapper, buy it: such I possess; and no man sho^d know.* Martial is addressing the thief who would steal and plagiarise his book. Cfr. also Tibullus (Lygdamus), III, i, 9; III, ii, 7; V, vi, 13 ff.
10. Catullus, xxii, 6 ff.
11. *Epp.* I, xiii, 2.
12. Horace, *Epp.* I, xx, 1 ff. Cfr. also Catullus, xxii, 8, and Tibullus (Lygdamus), III, i, 9 ff.
13. Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 331.
14. Persius, i, 42. Said of a good poem. Cfr. also Martial, III, ii, 7; V, vi, 14; VIII, lxi, 4 f., and Vitruvius, II, ix, 13.
15. *Tristia*, III, i, 13.
16. XIV, lxxxiv: *A wooden book-holder. To prevent your toga or cloak from making your books frayed, this fir-wood will give long life to your paper.*
17. Horace, *Sat.*, I, i, 120.
18. Catullus, xiv, 17 ff. Cfr. also Martial, I, iii, 2; Horace, *Epp.* II, i, 112 f.; *Id.*, *Sat.*, I, iv, 21 f.; *Id.*, *ibid.*, I, x, 62 ff. When boys of rank went to school (Juvenal x, 117), their book-case was carried by a *capsarius* (Suet., *Ner.* xxxvi) or by a *librarius* (*Id.*, *Claud.*, xxxv).
19. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 102: *Chartae alligatae mutant figuram.*
20. See the illustration in DACL II, i, 887.
21. Illustr. *ibid.* 845.
22. *Tristia*, I, i, 7.
23. *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii, 7.
24. III, ii, 11.
25. In Cicero, *Brutus*, 298, *volvere* means "to unroll."
26. Martial, xi, 107. From this use of *explicare* the medieval *explicit* is derived, which in turn gave rise to *incipit*.
27. Horace, *Epodes*, xiv, 8. Martial, iv, 69.
28. i, 66: *Look out for unpublished poems and unfinished studies, which one man only knows of, and which the sire of the virgin sheet not yet grown rough by the contact of hard chins, keeps sealed up in his book-wallet.*
29. x, 93: *As the rose delights us that is first plucked by the finger, so a sheet pleases when it is new and unsoiled by the chin.*
30. Juvenal, i, 4.
31. *Epp.*, III, v, 17.
32. viii, 62.
33. iv, 86: *If he shall condemn you, you must fly at once to the drawers of the salt-fish sellers, fit only to have your back plowed by boys' pens.*
34. Thompson, *Introd. to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 97.
35. *Ibid.*, 98, 126 f., 166.

In view of the wellnigh complete repulse of the Wolfian onslaught on the traditional text of Homer, alluded to on the editorial page of the last issue of the BULLETIN, the appearance of *The Σ Rhapsody of the Iliad*, by Alex. Pallis (Oxford University Press, 1930) comes as a surprise. In it the author goes on merrily, in approved Wolfian fashion, emending, dissecting, and obelizing the 18th book of the Iliad in accordance with his own theories and the canons of internal criticism. But with Professor Scott (in the *Classical Journal*) we feel that we still prefer our Iliad as it is, to Mr. Pallis' version.

Reading Latin Without Grammar, II

The most striking feature of the Grammarless Method, then, is what the name we have given it indicates, the exclusion of grammar study. Hardly less significant, and closely related to this feature, is its insistence on extensive reading. It would measure its reading of Latin even in the early stages by pages instead of lines, thus reversing the dictum *non multa sed multum* to read *non multum sed multa*, or, more truly *multum et multoties*. Obviously, if the pupil is to develop a ready familiarity with the meaning of words, forms, and constructions, for example, with the meaning of the word *flumen*, and is not to learn it as an isolated unit in a word list, he must be brought face to face with it not once but several times in a tell-tale context.

No less important is it that this reading be carefully graded, so that new words, new forms, new principles of syntax will be fed to the infant at Latin drop by drop instead of by the bucketful. Or, to keep the infant and merely change his occupation, the Grammarless Method insists that the gradient of the ascent up Mount Latin shall be very slight and graded to fit the step of little Iulus, rather than those of adult Aeneas, which is to say that it insists on a *sensim sine sensu* progress and adherence to the principle, *repetitio est mater studiorum*. Finally, proponents of the Grammarless Method insist that the reading matter should be connected discourse that will interest the student enough to focus his attention on the thought content. After giving the novice an acquaintance with a few fundamental words and forms, if you will give him a piece of connected Latin discourse that has a message adapted to his capacity for appreciation, his stage of maturity, and his range of interests, it will not take him long to find the meaning of that passage. If there is promise that the Latin contains a message of interest to him, the student will not be long in finding out that message. A pupil may not be interested in the isolated facts that a soldier crossed a river, or that a boy is in the garden, but if the soldier has crossed to track an escaping villain, or if the boy is in the garden building a ditch to trap a rabbit, he will keep hot on the scent of soldier or rabbit, be it in Latin, Greek, or English. Hence carefully graded but interesting selections of connected discourse are to be supplied in abundance.

What are the fundamental principles underlying the Grammarless Method's approach to the reading adaptation? First, *you learn to read by reading*, just as you learn to ride a bicycle or to skate by riding or by skating, just as you learn to talk and read English by talking and reading English, not by rules. True enough, English is almost a grammarless language, but German is not, and what German child is given instruction in German grammar as a means to learning to talk or read German? True enough, also, that the situation is different. The little German child hears German all day long and all about him; not so the most favored child that seeks to develop his ability to read Latin. *Concedo*, say proponents of the Grammarless Methods, "and that is the very reason why we must approximate the im-

possible condition of the exclusive use of Latin, in the most economical and effective way, by extensive graded reading which will afford repeated experience with a gradually growing vocabulary, array of forms, and syntax principles.

In the second place, *learning the structure of a language is more difficult than learning to read a language*, and therefore should follow, not precede the latter. How often this is brought home to the teacher of Latin when a student who has translated a passage and translated it well, finds that he cannot tell why a verb is in the subjunctive or a noun in the ablative. Ask a boy who can skate to tell you how he skates. He'll be in a similar plight; he can show you how he does it, but to generalize and explain the process is a far more difficult problem—more difficult than it would be to teach you to skate. So too, maintain the proponents of the Grammarless Method, grammar study is too much for the average beginner; generalizations on the subtle relationships that the various cases, moods, and tenses express, are too abstract for the neophyte, and tend to befuddle his mind with numerous foggy ideas of grammar, all the more difficult for him because he is here for the first time making the acquaintance of a highly inflected language.

In the third place, they say, *attention to language structure positively inhibits the development of reading ability*. After all, a pupil's span of attention is limited, and to attempt to stretch it over several objects at once, is to jeopardize its apprehension of any one. Certainly, in reading Latin, as in reading any language, the thought's the thing, though it must be confessed that many a beginner's book contains such a mass of nonsense, in the form of pointless, disconnected sentences, that the beginner may be excused for assuming that the Latin language is a kind of meaningless puzzle or guessing game, not an instrument to convey thought. Yes, the thought's the thing, and to focus attention on details of declension, conjugation, and syntax, is to intrude just that many elements to block the important thing, apprehension of the thought. It is true, of course, that inflections and syntax are essential parts of a sentence in Latin, true that unless they are understood the language must remain incomprehensible, but the recognition of the relationships they express should become so automatic, that they no more distract the attention of the reader from the thought and to their individual selves, their technical names, and classifications, than particular lines or colors in a painting should divert the spectator's attention from the significance of the whole picture. The person who concentrates on the forms of language is not unlike the man who spends his evening playing with the dials of the radio; something comes through, but over-attention to the machinery means a loss of most of the message. To train the pupil to focus attention on forms, is to make of him a fuzzy dial-turner. If you are to understand the English sentence which you are now reading, (if you have read this far), you must recognize, for instance, that *which* is a relative pronoun introducing a subordinate relative clause, but if your recognition is not to distract your mind from the thought of the

sentence, it must be made instinctively, automatically, almost unconsciously, and not brought to the forefront of your consciousness.

Fourthly, *there is a place for grammar study, but it is after one has developed reading ability*. It is desirable that the student should have a thorough grasp of language structure and understand the general laws of language as summarized in formal grammar, not as the chief basis for language habits, but to supplement these habits by making the reasons for the usages clear. Coming after one has firmly established the reading habit, attention to grammar is not likely to stand in the way of comprehension of the thought, any more than a study of English grammar is likely to halt one's reading of English.

After all, how successful is the Grammarless Method in workaday life? Reference was made in the opening paragraphs of this discussion to the studies of Judd and Buswell, and of Bovée. The writer's impression while visiting the second-, third-, and fourth-year classes taught according to this method, was that whereas the pupils read passages of "made" Latin in books like *Decem Fabulae* and *Famous Women* with great ease—and it must be borne in mind that it was all "sight" reading—in Caesar, also read at sight, they plodded along with considerable difficulty. Indeed, one of the teachers, who has been using the Grammarless Method for several years, freely admitted that they had not yet solved the old difficulty of bridging successfully the gap between the earlier "made" Latin and Caesar. Still—and this is a strong commendation of the method—she was sure that her pupils do far better now with Caesar than they did under the old system, and she declared emphatically that she would never think of returning to the old method.

One who wishes to have a more thorough discussion of the Grammarless Method, its theory and practice, will find it in the twenty-fifth chapter of Morrison's *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1926, and in *Our Latin Reading Method*, by Elsie M. Smithies of the University High School, *Latin Notes Supplement*, No. 43.

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Attic poetry is the drama; and the Attic drama is Sophocles: for Sophocles is the single poet who embodies centrally and completely the spirit of Athens.—*Mackail*

With a power, an ease, a skill which are the culminating achievement of the Greek genius, Sophocles employs the endless miracle of language to express and interpret, to set out in clear, faultless pattern, the fathomless miracle of life.—*Mackail*

One boy will be better adapted for the study of history, another for poetry, another for law, while some perhaps had better be packed off to the country.—*Quintilian*.

